

# The Sydney Morning Herald.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Sydney, £3 per annum; Country, £3 10s.; 10<sup>th</sup> discount for payment in advance.

VOL. XXIV.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1848.

No. 3589

CASH TERMS FOR ADVERTISEMENTS.

STEAM TO MORETON BAY.  
THE Steam Packet  
TAMAR.  
J. Allen, commander, will  
sail on TUE-DAY, at eight  
P.M.

JAMES PATERSON,  
Secretary.  
H. R. S. N. Company's Wharf. 7897

STEAM TO MELBOURNE AND  
LAUNCESTON.

CALLING AT EDEN AND DUDS, TWO FOLD BAY.  
THE Iron Steam Ship  
SHAMROCK,  
George Gillmore, commander,  
will sail for the above ports, on  
FRIDAY, 1st December, at 6 p.m.

JAMES PATERSON,  
Secretary.  
H. R. S. N. Company's Wharf. 7898

TWO FOLD BAY, PORT PHILLIP,  
AND ADELAIDE.

THE STEAM SHIP  
JUNO,  
will sail for the above ports,  
This Day the 18th November, 1848, at 6 o'clock p.m.

WILLIAM DAWES,  
Church Hill.

FOR MORETON BAY.  
THE fine schooner  
OPALIA,  
(51 tons register), George  
Eaton master, now loading  
at the Commercial Wharf, will be quickly despatched.

For freight or passage, apply to the master,  
on board; or to

THOMAS CROFT,  
Commercial Wharf. 7891

FOR MORETON BAY.  
THE well-known schooner  
SUSAN,  
Andrew Steel, master, having  
part of her cargo engaged,  
will be quickly despatched.

For freight or passage, apply to the master,  
on board; or to

THOMAS CROFT,  
Commercial Wharf. 7892

FOR MORETON BAY.  
THE favourite schooner  
CLARISSA,  
60 tons register, James John-  
son, master, just arrived,  
will be despatched in a few days.

For freight or passage, apply to the master,  
on board; or to

THOMAS CROFT,  
Commercial Wharf. 7893

FOR MELBOURNE, THIS DAY.  
WILL POSITIVELY SAIL THIS DAY.

THE favourite passenger  
brig  
DIANA,  
has room for a few tons freight,  
and will receive cargo until three o'clock this  
day. For freight or passage, apply to

E. J. SAYERS,  
Port Phillip Packet Office. 7894

FOR MELBOURNE DIRECT,  
A REGULAR TRADER.

THE well known schooner  
PEBBLE,  
100 tons, Captain Ebbets, having  
the principal part of her cargo  
engaged, will have her usual despatch.

For freight or passage, having superior ac-  
commodations, apply on board at the Flour  
Company's Wharf, or to

SHEPPARD AND ALGER,  
Packet Office, 470, George-street. 7895

FOR MELBOURNE.  
THE fine packet brig  
CHRISTINA,  
W. H. Sanderson, master, will  
sail for the above port this  
Day, the 18th instant.

For freight or passage, having the greater  
part engaged, apply to the Master, on board,  
at the Flour Wharf; or to

SMITH, BROTHERS, AND CO.,  
Sussex-street. 7896

FOR GEKONG DIRECT.  
A REGULAR TRADER.

THE well known Schooner  
PETREL,  
Gibson, master, having the  
principal part of her cargo  
engaged, will have her usual despatch. For  
freight or passage, having superior accom-  
modations, apply on board, at the Flour  
Company's Wharf; or to

SHEPPARD AND ALGER,  
470, George-street. 7897

FOR HOBART TOWN,  
WILL POSITIVELY SAIL ON TUESDAY EVENING.

THE fine new packet  
brig  
EMMA,  
170 tons, R. F. Pockley,  
Commander. All goods intended for shipment by  
this vessel must be alongside before three o'clock  
on Monday afternoon, and entries passed, as  
this vessel will clear on Tuesday morning, and sail as above. For freight or passage, apply  
on board, at the Queen's Wharf; or to

JOHN MACNAMARA,  
Queen-street. 7898

FOR HOBART TOWN.  
THE splendid clipper  
brig  
SCOUT,  
Joseph Cundall, commander, (late of the  
schooner Waterloo). This vessel will have  
immediate despatch. For freight or passage,  
apply at the Bon Accord Wharf, to Captain  
Cundall, or to

JOSEPH WILLIS,  
Church Hill. 7899

FOR HOBART TOWN.  
THE WELL-KNOWN  
SCHOONER  
MARTHA ELIZABETH,  
81 tons, H. Irwin, Comman-  
der, will have quick despatch. For freight or  
passage apply to J. S. WILLIS, Church Hill;  
or to

R. T. FORD,  
8, Bridge-street. 7900

FIRST VESSEL FOR ADELAIDE.

THE fine Adelaide  
trader  
EMMA,  
Captain William Osborne, new  
fast filling up, will have quick despatch.

For freight or passage, having excellent ac-  
commodations, apply on board, at the Circular  
Wharf, or to

SHEPPARD AND ALGER,  
Packet Office, 470, George-street. 7901

FOR ADELAIDE.

THE fast-sailing first-  
class brig  
P. R. L.,  
Christopher Gwatkin, com-  
mander. Nearly full cargo being engaged and  
ready for shipment, this vessel will have im-  
mediate despatch. The cabin accommoda-  
tions very superior.

For freight or passage apply to Captain  
Gwatkin; or to

JOSEPH S. WILLIS,  
Church Hill. 7902

FOR ADELAIDE.

THE fine fast-sailing  
new brig  
F. R. E. K.,  
T. Beckford Simpson, com-  
mander, will sail for the above port in  
a few days.

For freight, cabin, or steerage passage,  
having first-rate accommodation, apply to the  
Captain, on board, at the Circular  
Wharf; or to

W. S. DELITOON,  
7, Jamison-street.

This ship offers an eligible opportunity for  
the conveyance of horses.

November 6. 7227

FOR TAHITI DIRECT.

THE FINE SHIP  
COURIER DE TAHTI,  
278 tons register, E. Dugay,  
commander; has very superior  
accommodations for passengers, and will sail  
positively on the 1st proximo.

For freight or passage apply to

MONTEFIORI, GRAHAM, AND CO.

November 14. 7228

FOR AUCKLAND DIRECT,  
FOR PASSENGERS ONLY.

THE DEBORAH,  
A. Blane, commander.  
No goods can be received after  
noon this day.

All entries must be passed at once, and bills  
of lading sent in to

R. T. FORD,  
8, Bridge-street.

Saturday, November 18.

For immediate application is necessary for  
passage.

7891

FOR AUCKLAND DIRECT.

THE well-known Packet  
brig  
LOUISA,  
182 tons, W. N. Milton, com-  
mander.

This vessel is now receiving cargo, and will  
positively sail on Saturday next. She has  
superior accommodations for passengers.

For freight or passage apply on board, at the  
Queen's Wharf; or to

JOHN MACNAMARA,  
Queen-street.

7892

FOR AUCKLAND DIRECT.

THE first-class British-  
built brig  
MAY QUEEN,  
F. D. Butler, commander.  
400 tons register. This vessel has the greater  
portion of her cargo engaged and ready for  
dispatch, and will sail on Friday next.

For freight or passage, the cabin accommoda-  
tions being very superior, apply to Captain Butler,  
at the Bon Accord Wharf; or to

JOSEPH S. WILLIS,  
Church Hill. 7893

FOR AUCKLAND DIRECT.

THE first-class British-  
built brig  
ASSURANCE OFFICE,  
Conducted according to the usage at Lloyd's, under  
the direction of a Committee of  
Underwriters.

LYNN BUILDINGS, 567, George-street.

Hours of attendance from 10 to 4.

SAMUEL H. SMYTH,  
Broker. Sydney, November 3. 7894

PETERSHAM  
METROPOLITAN RACES.

JUDGE: MR. THOMAS MAY.

STEWARDS: MR. A. KING,  
MR. G. FERRERS PICKERING,  
MR. JAMES OATLEY.

CLERK OF THE COURSE: MR. RICHARD CULLEN.

NOVEMBER 14. 7895

FOR ARRACAN,  
THE fine A. 1. SHIP  
EMPEROR,  
673 tons, John Henry Day,  
Commander, will sail in a few  
days. Her cabin accommodation is very su-  
perior, and she carries a surgeon. For freight or  
passage apply to

SMITH AND CAMPBELL,  
489, George-street.

7895

FOR HONGKONG.

THE fine A. 1. SHIP  
EMPEROR,  
673 tons, John Henry Day,  
Commander, will sail in a few  
days. Her cabin accommodation is very su-  
perior, and she carries a surgeon. For freight or  
passage apply to

SMITH AND CAMPBELL,  
Spring-street.

7896

FOR ARRACAN,

THE fine fast-sailing  
brig  
RADRE,  
204 tons register, Patrick  
Allen, commander. This vessel has very  
superior cabin accommodations, and presents a  
most favourable opportunity for parties within  
the means to proceed to Bengal, as a steamer runs  
regularly between Arracan and Calcutta, making  
the passage in three days. For freight or  
passage early application is required, to  
Captain Allen; or to

CAMPBELL AND CO.,  
Spring-street.

7897

FOR HONGKONG.

THE fine A. 1. SHIP  
EMPEROR,  
673 tons, John Henry Day,  
Commander, will sail in a few  
days. Her cabin accommodation is very su-  
perior, and she carries a surgeon. For freight or  
passage apply to

SMITH AND CAMPBELL,  
489, George-street.

7898

FOR HOBART TOWN.

THE fine new packet  
brig  
EMMA,  
170 tons, R. F. Pockley,  
Commander. All goods intended for shipment by  
this vessel must be alongside before three o'clock  
on Monday afternoon, and entries passed, as  
this vessel will clear on Tuesday morning, and sail as above. For freight or passage, apply  
on board, at the Queen's Wharf; or to

JOHN MACNAMARA,  
Queen-street.

7899

FOR HOBART TOWN.

THE well-known  
schooner  
MARTHA ELIZABETH,  
81 tons, H. Irwin, Comman-  
der, will have quick despatch. For freight or passage,  
apply to J. S. WILLIS, Church Hill; or to

R. T. FORD,  
8, Bridge-street. 7900

FIRST VESSEL FOR ADELAIDE.

THE fine Adelaide  
trader  
EMMA,  
Captain William Osborne, new  
fast filling up, will have quick despatch.

For freight or passage, having excellent ac-  
commodations, apply on board, at the Circular  
Wharf, or to

SHEPPARD AND ALGER,  
Packet Office, 470, George-street.

7901

FOR ADELAIDE.

THE fast-sailing first-  
class brig  
P. R. L.,  
Christopher Gwatkin, com-  
mander. Nearly full cargo being engaged and  
ready for shipment, this vessel will have im-  
mediate despatch. The cabin accommoda-  
tions very superior.

For freight or passage apply to Captain  
Gwatkin; or to

JOSEPH S. WILLIS,  
Church Hill. 7902

FREIGHT OR CHARTER.

FOR Freight or Charter,  
the first-class British ship  
LAURENCE,  
276 tons register, Robert Sal-  
mon, commander. Apply to the Captain, on  
board; or to

BROWN AND CO.,  
George-street.

7903

FOR TAHITI DIRECT.

THE fine fast-sailing A. 1.  
brig  
LAURENCE,  
276 tons register, John Bell,  
Commander. Is now ready to receive wool, and  
will sail in December. Apply to

MONTEFIORI, GRAHAM, AND CO.

October 19. 7904

FREIGHT OR CHARTER.

FOR Freight or Charter,  
the first-class British ship  
LAURENCE,  
276 tons register, Robert Sal-  
mon, commander. Apply to the Captain, on  
board; or to

BROWN AND CO.,  
George-street.

7905

FOR AUCKLAND DIRECT.



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**SODA WATER MACHINE.**  
TO CHEMISTS, CONFECTIONERS, AND OTHERS.  
FOR private sale, a Continuous Print  
Soda Water Machine, complete, in  
perfect order, at  
JOHN G. COHEN,  
Auctioneer,  
490, George-street.  
704

**SILVER PLATE.**  
FOR SALE by private contract, by  
the undesignated, a complete set of  
silver pattern table service of spoons, forks,  
spoons, knives, and other articles,  
nearly new, at five shillings and ten-pence  
each. The purchase having value for his money. The  
only reason the present proprietor (Mr. Horton)  
is leaving, is having taken the Cricketers' Arms  
Hotel, corner of Pitt and Market Streets.  
N.B.—None but principals will be treated with.

EDWARD SALAMON,  
Antiques and Agent,  
705

**WOOL AND SHEEPSKINS.**  
THE undersigned are Cash purchasers  
of the skins  
J. T. ARMITAGE AND CO.,  
King-street, November 16. 708

**WOOL AND SHEEPSKINS.**  
THE undersigned is a buyer of the  
above.  
ABRAM BRIERLEY,  
Sueker-street.  
634

**THE** undersigned will make advances  
on wool, skins, and other produce con-  
signed to Mr. Robert How, London.  
ROBERT HOW AND CO.,  
590 Lower George-street.

**NOTICE.**

ALL parties are hereby cautioned  
against harbouring or trusting the Crew  
of the American Brigantine Canton Packet, as no  
debt contracted by them will be paid by the  
Master or Agent.  
November 18. 709

**MODEL SCHOOL.**

ST. ANDREW'S BOYS' CHURCH, SYDNEY.  
WANTED, an experienced Master  
and Mistress, to teach Reading,  
Writing, Arithmetic, History, English Gram-  
mar, Geography, Church Music—and for  
the female children, piano and ornamental  
Needwork.

Also, an Infant Training Teacher.  
Note, but persons thoroughly competent  
need apply, as the school will be the Model  
Primary School under the direction of the Denominational  
School Board. The school will commence on  
the 1st January, 1849. Applications to be made to  
the Rev. Dr. M. G. GRASSI, Sydney, or  
or before Monday, the 17th December, 1848.

707

**WANTED, £1500.**—The under-  
signed is empowered to treat for the  
loan of the above stated sum of money, on  
mortgage of two city properties, in the principal  
thoroughfares of Sydney, at 7 per cent.  
interest.

W. P. WILSHIRE,  
No. 3, Gloucester-terrace,  
Marquarie-street North  
708

**CATTLE.**—Wanted to Purchase, for  
cash, in a northern district, from five to  
six hundred weaner steers, from eighteen  
months to two and a half years old, delivered  
either on Darling Downs, or at Tenter-  
field, New England, on the 20th January,  
1849. For further particulars apply, post-  
paid, to M. S. MONTAGUE, GRAHAM, AND  
CO., Sydney; or to M. S. GRAHAM AND  
CO., Brisbane. 709

**RUN WANTED.**—Wanted in the  
Southern District, a small run capable  
of grazing from 4000 to 5000 sheep, for which  
(700) seven hundred weaner sheep will be given. The Murray or Lower Murr-  
umbidgee would be preferred.

Apply, if by letter now paid, to  
MESSRS. R. DAVIDSON AND CO.,  
Gundagai. 709

**WANTED IMMEDIATELY.**—  
A Horse Team to proceed to Yass.  
Apply, JOSEPH THOMPSON AND SON,  
709

**WANTED, a Married Couple,** as  
house servants. The man to cook  
and make himself useful, the woman to  
attend and assist in the house. Wage, £20  
a month. For address, apply to the  
Post Office. 707

**TWENTY POUNDS REWARD.**  
NO. 1.—All persons are hereby  
counselled from trading, purchasing,  
or removing Cattle or Horses, of either of the  
undermentioned brands, viz.:

BA, A, or AL,  
Running now in the district of Port Mac-  
quarie; and a reward of Twenty Pounds will  
be given to any person giving such in-  
formation, who will assist in the conviction of any  
party or parties involved.

(Signed) ARCHIBALD MOSSMAN,  
Armadale, New England, October 24. 696

**FIVE POUNDS REWARD.**  
L. O. S. OR S. O. L. EN, from Wam-  
boulang, about the beginning of last  
month.

A bay mare, thoroughly branded GH on  
each shoulder, about seven years old, with one  
white hind foot; a last year's foal by her side;  
the tail is a bay horse, with a white hind foot.

A chestnut mare, with a white hind foot, has  
an aged appearance, branded 135, but looks  
like IM, heavy in foal, and foal fair by her  
side, not branded.

A bay filly, two years old, with white hind  
foot, branded AW V. very large on near shoulder.

A brown mare, heavy in foal and foal fair by her  
side, branded G on one shoulder and JG on the  
other.

A bay horse, wearing a tea cream colour,  
Company's Wharf, and inventory of stores  
can be seen at the Office of the Auctioneer.

THE TERMS.  
Will be declared at the time of sale. 706

**STOCK-IN-TRADE, FIXTURES, GAS  
FITTINGS, &c.**  
ON THE PREMISES, 520, GEORGE-STREET.  
BY ORDER OF THE PROPRIETOR,  
Giving up the premises.

**TO BOOT AND SHOE MAKERS, DEALERS, AND  
OTHERS.**  
JOHN G. COHEN will sell by  
auction, on the Premises, 520, George-  
street, ON MONDAY NEXT, NOVEMBER 20.  
At 11 o'clock precisely.

The Stock-in-Trade, Fixtures, &c., com-  
prising Children's boots and shoes  
Gent's Wellington boots  
Ditto walking shoes and pumps  
Leather tools, &c.  
Counters and fixtures, gas fittings, &c.  
Terms—Cash. 7072

**TWO POUNDS REWARD.**  
STOLEN from a window at No. 108,  
Elizabeth-street, on Tuesday evening,  
gold chain and locket. Whoever will give  
such information as may lead to the recovery  
of the property shall receive the above reward.

7082

**TO LET, those excellent business**  
premises in George-street, opposite the  
Savings' Bank, in the occupation of Mr. Scott,  
with counters and fixtures complete, and in  
thorough repair.

Immediate possession can be given.  
ALSO,  
TO LET.

A Store of Market-street, adjoining the City  
Theatre.

For particulars apply to  
E. C. WEEKES,  
7092 450 George-street.

**TO LET,** with immediate possession  
the house and premises in the rear of  
Riley House, Marquarie-place. Apply to  
Mr. S. HAWTHORPE, near the Post-office,  
or Mrs. Mairi, Newtown. 7076

**TO LET, A FIRST-RATE PUBLIC  
HOUSE, WITH IMMEDIATE POS-  
SESSION.**—The old established and well-  
known public house, the Blue Bell Hotel, now in  
the hands of Mr. Scott, 108, Elizabeth-street,  
Saxon-street, near the Steam Company's  
Wharf, with license, good-will, and bar fittings  
complete—one of the neatest in the colony.  
Rents very moderate, the coming-in reasonable,  
the purchaser having value for his money. The  
only reason the present proprietor (Mr. Scott)  
is leaving, is having taken the Cricketers' Arms  
Hotel, corner of Pitt and Market Streets.  
N.B.—None but principals will be treated with.

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590 Lower George-street.

**NOTICE.**

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against harbouring or trusting the Crew  
of the American Brigantine Canton Packet, as no  
debt contracted by them will be paid by the  
Master or Agent.  
November 18. 709

**MODEL SCHOOL.**

ST. ANDREW'S BOYS' CHURCH, SYDNEY.  
WANTED, an experienced Master  
and Mistress, to teach Reading,  
Writing, Arithmetic, History, English Gram-  
mar, Geography, Church Music—and for  
the female children, piano and ornamental  
Needwork.

Also, an Infant Training Teacher.  
Note, but persons thoroughly competent  
need apply, as the school will be the Model  
Primary School under the direction of the Denominational  
School Board. The school will commence on  
the 1st January, 1849. Applications to be made to  
the Rev. Dr. M. G. GRASSI, Sydney, or  
or before Monday, the 17th December, 1848.

707

**WANTED, £1500.**—The under-  
signed is empowered to treat for the  
loan of the above stated sum of money, on  
mortgage of two city properties, in the principal  
thoroughfares of Sydney, at 7 per cent.  
interest.

W. P. WILSHIRE,  
No. 3, Gloucester-terrace,  
Marquarie-street North  
708

**TO LET, a house containing seven  
rooms and detached kitchen, situated in  
Park street, Sydney, near the corner of George  
and Park streets, lately occupied by Mr. Green,  
builder. Possession can be given immediately.  
Apply at the London Tavern, George-street.**

7074

**TO LET, a Farm of about 1100  
acres, at Prospect, about twenty-five  
miles from Sydney. The land is fenced and  
divided into paddocks, and has been  
used as a dairy for a number of years.  
The farm would be let alone as a homestead,  
or with or without a commissary house, or if  
more desirable, a lot of quiet milking cows and  
a first-rate dairy, with requisite utensils would  
be let with it.**

The above being a most complete establish-  
ment, and as very convenient a distance  
from Sydney, presents a very favourable oppor-  
tunity for any industrious person of small  
capital to obtain a home in the neighbourhood.

Farmers desirous to treat for the above, or  
any portion, are requested to address letter,  
or post-paid, to F. S. COLE, of Mr. G. G. COLE,  
Grocer, Lower George-street.

7075

**TO LET, a Farm of about 1100  
acres, at Prospect, about twenty-five  
miles from Sydney. The land is fenced and  
divided into paddocks, and has been  
used as a dairy for a number of years.  
The farm would be let alone as a homestead,  
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or post-paid, to F. S. COLE, of Mr. G. G. COLE,  
Grocer, Lower George-street.

7076

**TO LET, that very excellent Inn at  
Mudgee, called the "Welcome Inn," and  
at present occupied by Thomas  
L'Estrange. The house contains nine rooms,  
kitchen, store, and large stable. Apply  
to Mr. GOUVIEZ MUDGE, or to Mr.  
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Immediate possession will be given.

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**TO LET, a Farm of about 1100  
acres, at Prospect, about twenty-five  
miles from Sydney. The land is fenced and  
divided into paddocks, and has been  
used as a dairy for a number of years.  
The farm would be let alone as a homestead,  
or with or without a commissary house, or if  
more desirable, a lot of quiet milking cows and  
a first-rate dairy, with requisite utensils would  
be let with it.**

The above being a most complete establish-  
ment, and as very convenient a distance  
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tunity for any industrious person of small  
capital to obtain a home in the neighbourhood.

Farmers desirous to treat for the above, or  
any portion, are requested to address letter,  
or post-paid, to F. S. COLE, of Mr. G. G. COLE,  
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**SALES BY AUCTION.**  
THE FINE EAST-SAILING SCHOONER  
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MR. GEORGE L. LLOYD  
Will sell by auction in the City Mart, 474,  
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At 12 o'clock precisely.

The right, title, and interest of the Assignees  
of the above estate, in and unto the equity of  
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The newly and substantially built premises in  
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MR. EDWARD SALAMON will sell  
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One case containing—French porcelain tea sets,  
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One case containing—Handsome painted  
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**TO LET, a house containing seven  
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Park street, Sydney, near the corner of George  
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E. C. WEEKES,  
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**TO LET, with immediate possession  
the house and premises in the rear of  
Riley House, Marquarie-place. Apply to  
Mr. S. HAWTHORPE, near the Post-office,  
or Mrs. Mairi, Newtown. 7076**

7076

**TO LET.**

A Store of Market-street, adjoining the City  
Theatre.

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# Supplement TO THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD.

**SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1848.**

## COLONIZATION.

SPEECH OF SIR WM. MOLESWORTH  
IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, JULY  
25, 1848.

Mr. W. MOLESWORTH : My object is, in the first instance, to call the attention of the house to the amount of the colonial expenditure of the British empire ; and in so doing I shall endeavour to establish the following positions :—1st. That the colonial expenditure can be diminished without detriment to the interests of the empire. 2nd. That the system of colonial policy and government can be so amended as to insure more economical and altogether better government for the colonies. And, lastly, that by these reforms the resources of the colonies would be developed, they would become more useful, and their inhabitants more attached to the British empire. (Hear, hear.) In speaking of colonies, I do not intend to include under that term the territories which are governed by the East India Company, but shall confine my remarks to those foreign possessions of the Crown which are under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office. Notwithstanding this limitation, the colonial empire of Great Britain contains between four and five millions of square miles, an area equal to the whole of Europe and British India added together ; of this vast space about one million of square miles have been divided into forty different colonies, each with a separate government ; four of them are in Europe, five in North America, fifteen in the West Indies, three in South America, five in Africa and its vicinity, three among the Asiatic islands, and five in Australia and New Zealand. (Hear, hear, hear.) The population of these colonies does not exceed five millions ; of this number about 2,600,000 are of European race, of whom about 600,000 are French, about 300,000 Ionians and Maltese, a few are Dutch or Spanish, and the remainder, amounting to about 1,600,000, are of English, Irish, or Scotch descent. Of the 2,600,000 inhabitants of the colonies who are not of European race, about 1,400,000 are Cingales and other inhabitants of Ceylon, and 1,100,000 are of African origin. (Hear, hear.) In 1844 (the last complete return) the declared value of British produce and manufactures exported to the colonies amounted to about nine millions sterling. The whole colonial expenditure of the British empire is about eight millions sterling a-year, one-half of which is defrayed by the colonies and one-half by Great Britain. That portion of the colonial expenditure which is defrayed by Great Britain consists of military, naval, civil, and extraordinary expenditure. (Hear, hear.) The net military expenditure by Great Britain on account of the colonies (including ordnance and commissariat expenditure), was returned to Parliament for the year 1832 at £1,761,605, for the year 1835-6 at £2,030,059, and for the year 1843-4 (the last return) at £2,556,919, an increase between 1832 and 1843 of £795,414. The present military expenditure is probably about the same as it was in 1843-4 ; for the military force in the colonies amounts at present to about 42,000 men (exclusive of artillery and engineers), or to about three-eighths of the whole military force of the British empire (exclusive of the army in India). For this amount of force we shall have to vote this year, first, in the army estimates, for the pay, clothing, &c., of 42,000 men, and for the foreign staff about £1,500,000 ; secondly, in the ordnance estimates, for the pay of the artillery and engineers (which I will suppose to be the same as in 1843-4) for ordnance establishments, barracks, fortifications, and stores, in the colonies about £650,000 ; and, thirdly, in the commissariat estimates for commissariat services, provisions, forage, fuel, light, &c., in the colonies about £400,000 ; in all, about £2,500,000, which will be the direct military expenditure by Great Britain on account of the colonies for this year (hear, hear). To form a fair estimate of the whole military expenditure by Great Britain on account of the colonies for one year, it would be necessary to add to this sum of £2,500,000 a very considerable sum—on account of reliefs, military establishments at home, and other matters, which are in part required in order to keep up so large a military force in the colonies. It is evident, therefore, that I shall under-estimate the military expenditure by Great Britain on account of the colonies when I set it down at only £2,600,000 a year (hear). Secondly, with regard to the naval expenditure by Great Britain on account of the colonies. At present we have about 235 ships in commission, with a complement not much short of 40,000 men. Of these ships about 132, with a complement of about 25,000 men, are on foreign stations—some in the Mediterranean, some on the North American and West Indian station, some off the West Coast of Africa and the Cape of Good Hope, otherwise in the Chinese and Indian seas, or protecting our interests in New Zealand (hear, hear, hear). Now the house will remember that in every debate that has taken place this year on the estimates, the extent of our colonial empire, and the new colonies which are springing up in Australia, New Zealand, and the Chinese and Indian seas, were among the chief causes assigned by the noble lord the member for the city of London, and the honorable gentleman the member for Sheffield, for the enormous amount of the naval force of Great Britain, and for the increase of that force, which had doubled both in magnitude and cost during the last thirteen or fourteen years. (Hear, hear.) I may, therefore, without any exaggeration, assume that at least one-third of the ships on foreign stations—

that is, one-fifth of the ships in commission—or forty-five ships, with a complement of 8000 men, are maintained on account of the colonies. Now, I infer from the estimates and from the returns presented to this house, that these ships will cost the country annually for wages and victuals of crews, wear and tear of vessels and stores, more than £700,000. In addition to this sum we shall have to vote this year in the navy estimates £65,000 for naval establishments in the colonies, another £65,000 for naval works and repairs in the colonies, and £181,000 for freight and other matters connected with the conveyance of troops to the colonies. These sums added together will give a total of above a million sterling as the direct naval expenditure by Great Britain on account of the colonies for one year. (Hear, hear.) To form a fair estimate of the whole naval expenditure by Great Britain on account of the colonies for one year, it would be necessary to add to this sum of one million sterling a very considerable sum on account of reliefs and building new ships, likewise a portion of the cost of the naval establishments at home, and likewise a portion of the expense of the packet service to the colonies, which last item alone costs £418,000 a year. It is evident, therefore, that I shall very much under estimate the naval expenditure by Great Britain on account of the colonies when I set it down at only one million sterling a year, or at one-eighth of the whole naval expenditure of Great Britain. (Hear.) 3rd. The civil expenditure of Great Britain on account of the colonies is chiefly defrayed by sums annually voted in the miscellaneous estimates, under the head of colonial services. Some portion of it, however, is paid for under acts of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) It may be estimated this year at £300,000. It consists of numerous items, to some of which I shall have presently to refer. I will now only mention that we pay £27,000 a year for the Colonial Office, £20,300 a year for ecclesiastical establishments in the West Indies, between eleven and twelve thousand a year for the clergy of North America and that last year we divided the diocese of Australia into four bishoprics, erected a bishopric at Cape Town, and conveyed the right reverend gentlemen who held these sees to the colonies, at the expense of this country. (Hear.) Lastly, under the head of extraordinary expenditure by Great Britain on account of the colonies, I put down such items as the insurrection in Canada, for which in the interval between 1838 and 1843, there were special grants to the amount of £2,000,000; as the Kafir war, on account of which there is a special grant this year of £1,100,000, and for which we shall have probably to pay eight or nine hundred thousand pounds more; as the Maori war in New Zealand, which at a low estimate will cost half a million; as £214,000 for the payment of the debts of South Australia, in 1842; as relief of sufferers by fire and other disasters in the colonies, for which we gave £50,000 in 1846; as the risk of non-payment of loans, such as £236,000 to be lent to the New Zealand Company; and this year £716,000 lent, or to be lent, to the West Indians; and innumerable other items. On the average of the last ten years, £200,000 a year would have been wholly inadequate to cover the extraordinary expenditure of Great Britain on account of the colonies. I will put it down, however, at £200,000 a year, and I will omit all mention of the sums paid for emancipating the negroes in the colonies, and the civil expenditure on account of our attempt to suppress the slave trade, which many persons would charge to the account of extraordinary colonial expenditure. Now, adding together the four sums which I have just mentioned, namely, £2,500,000 for the army, £1,000,000 for the navy, £300,000 for civil services, and £200,000 for extraordinary expenses, the total direct expenditure by Great Britain on account of the colonies, would amount at least to four millions a year; and I am inclined to think that this is a very much less than the actual cost of the colonies to Great Britain. Now, I beg the house to observe, that the declared value of British produce and manufactures exported to the colonies in the year 1844 was nine millions sterling, including one million's worth of exports to Gibraltar, which are sent to Gibraltar to be smuggled into Spain. (Hear, hear.) Therefore the expenditure of Great Britain on account of the colonies amounts to nine shillings in every pound sterling of its exports; or, in other words, for every pound's worth of goods that our merchants send to the colonies, the nation pays nine shillings; in fact, a large portion of our colonial trade consists of goods which are sent to defray the expenses of our establishments in the colonies. Now what are the advantages which we derive from our colonial possessions? Colonies are supposed to be useful either for political or commercial purposes, and with reference to these objects they should be divided into two classes, which should be considered separately—namely, military stations, acquired chiefly for political purposes—colonies, properly so called, supposed to be of value chiefly for commercial objects. Our military stations are Heligoland, Gibraltar, Malta, the Ionian Islands, Bermuda, the stations on the west coast of Africa, St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, Hongkong, Labuan, and the Falkland Islands. What do these stations cost us—what are we to this country? They are called the outposts of the British Empire, and they are supposed to be useful in periods of war, for purposes of aggression. (Hear, hear.) But it appears to me that most of them are so far removed from the centre of the empire, that in times of war they would be sources of weakness and not of strength: for

they would compel us, contrary to every sound principle of warfare, to scatter instead of concentrating our forces. (Hear, hear, hear.) Therefore, in the event of a really serious struggle, they would, like other outposts, in all probability, be abandoned to their fate. Moreover, it is evident that we can only retain possession of them as long as we have the dominion of the seas, but having dominion of the seas, I cannot see why we should cover all of them with fortifications, and fill all of them with troops. I believe a wiser generation will hold wiser opinions with regard to the utility of these possessions. I will, however, for the present, suppose that some of them are of some use to the country, and proceed to tell the house what they cost us (hear, hear). First, Gibralta and Malta: in 1843-4 the total expenditure incurred by Great Britain on account of these stations was £366,000. They require about the same sum every year, for their garrisons consist of between 5000 and 6000 men (exclusive of artillery and engineers), and considerable sums are annually expended on building and repairing fortifications, naval works, &c. It is stated in the navy and ordnance estimates of this year, that the works now in progress in these two colonies will cost us £460,000 (hear, hear.) I will not ask whether they are worth the price we pay for them. But I do question the utility of protecting the Ionian Islands with 2500 troops, at a cost to this country of about £130,000 a year, which is somewhat more than the declared value of our exports to those islands in 1844. When England first became the protecting sovereign of the Ionian States, it was on the express condition that a portion, at least, of the military expense should be borne by the States; the sum to be paid was subsequently fixed at £35,500 a year (hear, hear). In 1842, the Ionian States were £123,000 in arrear, and I believe these arrears are still greater at present. We have spent large sums on military works at Corfu, and a grant of £12,873 is to be proposed this year to complete some of these works. Therefore our military stations in the Mediterranean require about 8000 troops, and they cost us at least half a million a year, exclusively of any portion of the expense of the fleet in the Mediterranean. That fleet, on the average of the last five years, has consisted of twenty-three ships, with a complement of 5000 men, the expense of which, for wages, victuals, wear and tear, may be reckoned at half a million a year. The declared value of our exports to those stations is about £1,400,000, of which nearly a million is a smuggling trade through Gibraltar into Spain (hear, hear). I next proceed to the Bermudas. Since the peace we have expended there upwards of £600,000 in navy and ordnance works alone; and it is now estimated that to complete these works a further sum of £260,000 will be required. At the Bermudas there is a garrison of 1200 men, at a cost (exclusive of the expense for convicts) of about £90,000 a year (hear, hear.) Now what is the use of such costly establishments and fortifications on these worthless rocks? It is said that the Bermudas are useful as a means of aggression against the United States, and that we have garrisoned them and fortified them lest the United States should take possession of them. I believe the United States would not accept of them as a gift (hear). They are chiefly used as a comfortable residence for the admiral on the North American station, for whom it is proposed to build a house at a cost of about £15,000. I next proceed to St. Helens, which costs us in civil and military expenditure about £40,000 a year, and to the colonies on the western coast of Africa, which in a similar manner cost us about £52,000 a year. These colonies are not, strictly speaking, military stations, nor are they of much commercial importance; their main object is to impede the slave trade. The fleet which we had last year upon this station, consisted of 24 ships, with 259 guns, and a complement of 2781 men, and its cost was returned to Parliament for wages, victuals of crews, and wear and tear of ships, at £301,628 a year. Besides these sums, we generally expend about £80,000 a year on other matters connected with what is called the suppression of the slave trade. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, at least, half a million a year is the direct expenditure by Great Britain in the vain attempt to put a stop to that traffic. It may not be proper to include all this under the head of colonial expenditure; but, nevertheless, I may be permitted to express my belief that it is a most useless expenditure, and to recommend Parliament to abandon it, together with the colony of Sierra Leone, and the other stations on the west coast of Africa, and thus to save the country an outlay of at least £450,000 a year. I now arrive at the colony of the Cape of Good Hope (the area of which is considerably larger than that of the United Kingdom.) It may be looked upon as a commercial colony as well as a military station. As a commercial colony, it is not of much importance. In 1844, the declared value of our exports to it was only £458,000, and our imports from it were £258,000. The difference was made up by the military expenditure of Great Britain, which for 1843-1844 amounted to £294,000, or more than fifty per cent on our exports. In that year, the number of troops in the colony was 2951 rank and file. (hear; last year the number was at one time 6470 rank and file. This increase was in consequence of the Kafir war, and for the same reason the fleet on this station was increased to nine ships, with a complement of 1700 men, which fleet must have cost this country at the rate of £70,000 a year. For that war we have already

Inko Inkuks (great chief), and has added, o the number of his colonies, some 40,000 square miles (about the size of Ireland) is between a desert (to use the words of the Surveyor general) as is to be found upon the earth's crust (hear, hear). Thus the loss of one axe and two goats on the frontier of the Cape of Good Hope has cost this colony a couple of millions sterling (hear, hear, hear), and given rise to a war unparalleled in the history of nations since the far-famed strife of the big and little Ilians. I attach no blame to Lord Grey or his predecessor, in account of that; it is clear from their despatches (I trust, they will pardon me for saying it) that they were helpless and ignorant; and I believe Lord Grey was as much astonished as any man, when he heard the amount of the bill (hear, hear). I warn the house, however, that, under the existing system, there is no reason whatever, why, every four or five years, there may not be a similar war, hear, with a similar bill to the one, hear, with a similar amount of damage. The British must distinctly understand that they must defend themselves and pay the cost of such defence. Then they will have the strongest motives to prevent the commencement, and to hasten the termination of a Kaffir war (hear, hear). In return for so doing, they should receive free institutions, and have complete control over their own expenditure. (Hear, hear.) Then, when the British have sufficiently garrisoned for a frontier sufficient garrison for Cape Town, and in ordinary years there might be a saving at the Cape, in military expenditure alone, to the amount of at least £250,000 a year. If, however, public money be to be spent at the Cape of Good Hope, it would be better at both for this country and for the colony that it should be spent on emigration. I believe about £10 a head is sufficient to defray the expense of fitting out a man to that colony. Now the direct military expenditure by Great Britain on account of the colonies is at the rate of £60 a year to each soldier in the colonies. Therefore, if we were to reduce our military force at the Cape by 1500 men, and were to send there, in their stead, 9000 emigrants a year, there would, in all probability, be a reduction in our expenditure on account of that colony, and the rapid increase of population would enable the colonists to guard their frontier effectively, and the best plan would be to keep the expense of institutions, give them complete control over their expenditure, and then a thousand men (which was about the amount of the military force in that colony in 1826) would be an ample garrison. (Hear, hear.) From the Mauritius I should proceed to Hongkong; but first, I shall stop for a moment at Ceylon. As Ceylon is neither a military station, nor a colony properly so called, but a subjugated territory of the same kind as our present Indian colonies, it appears to me that it would be better governed by the East India Company than by the Colonial Office. (Hear, hear, hear), in which case we should have nothing to pay for the troops in that island. In 1843-4 the military expenditure by Great Britain amounted to £110,000, on account of this colony, was £92,000. (Hear, hear.) I should think that cost of maintaining a force of 4000 troops at the Mauritius, and we are going to improve the defences of the island, at the estimated cost of £150,000. Where is the necessity of keeping this amount of military force at the Mauritius? (Hear, hear.) Is it in order to keep down the planters? (Hear, hear.) It is true they are discontented, and overreaching, but the best plan would be to keep the expense of institutions, give them complete control over their expenditure, and then a thousand men (which was about the amount of the military force in that colony in 1826) would be an ample garrison. (Hear, hear.) From the Mauritius I should proceed to Hongkong; but first, I shall stop for a moment at Ceylon. As Ceylon is neither a military station, nor a colony properly so called, but a subjugated territory of the same kind as our present Indian colonies, it appears to me that it would be better governed by the East India Company than by the Colonial Office. (Hear, hear, hear), in which case we should have nothing to pay for the troops in that island. In 1843-4 the military expenditure by Great Britain amounted to £110,000, in addition to a military expenditure by the colony of nearly £70,000. At present the military force at Ceylon consists of 4000 troops, including sailors, costing Nrs. £110,000 a year, a heavy price to pay for a colony, the declared value of our exports to which did not exceed £210,000 in 1844; it is true, however, that the import trade from Ceylon, especially of coffee, is rapidly increasing in value. I now arrive at Hongkong. From the 1st of May, 1841, when we took possession of that island, up to the 30th September, 1844, we have expended upon it £314,000. (Hear, hear.) I find in the Navy, Ordnance, Commissariat, and Miscellaneous Estimates for this year, that Hongkong appears to the account of Hongkong should be added a portion of the expense of the fleet in the Chinese and Indian seas, which consists at present of about twenty-five ships, with a complement of about 4000 men, and which must cost at least £450,000 a year. Therefore, the total direct expenditure by Great Britain in the Chinese and Indian seas can be less than £600,000 a year. In the West India, Ceylon, and the colonies of its own to defend its own possessions, the greater portion of this expenditure is on account of the trade with China, which, on the average of the last four years, did not exceed £2,000,000 a year in British produce and manufactures. (Hear, hear.) Next, I have to inform the house that Latuan appears this year for the first time in our estimates. Mr. Mume: "Ha, ha," (laughter), to whose dominions in Borneo we have this year appointed a consul at the salary of £600 a year. (Hear, hear.) Now, as in these matters the first step is the difficulty, we may expect in a year or two to see

Leban, Sarawak, and perhaps in their train some half-dozen other Bornean principalities, holding concessions, plains, and the arm of the river, hear, hear. Then we shall build barracks and fortifications, and garrison them with a few troops (hear, hear). The troops will create a demand for a small quantity of British produce and manufactures; to protect the trade thus arising, a ship or two of war will be stationed in the neighbourhood (hear, hear). In proportion to the increase of our public expenditure will be the increase of the traffic, till at length we shall be informed that the British merchant is carrying a flourishing commerce at the neutral coast to the nation of ten shillings in every pound sterling of her exports (hear, hear). This is the most approved Colonial Office fashion of colonizing and creating a colonial trade, very different from the old English mode. I will now conclude the catalogue of the military stations with the Falkland Islands. On the dreary, desolate, and windy spot, where no native aborigines have ever been, we wisely abandoned by us, we have, since 1841, expended upwards of £35,000: we have a civil establishment there at the cost of £5000 a year—a governor, who has erected barracks and other "necessary" buildings, well loopholed for musketry; and, being hard up for cash, he issued a paper currency, not however, with the approbation of the Colonial Office (hear, hear). In the same year, two British stations and Ceylon contain about 21,000 troops; that that portion of their civil and military expenditure which is defrayed by Great Britain amounts to at least £1,300,000 a year, exclusive of extraordinary expenditure for Kaffir wars, &c., which, on the average of the last ten years, may be put down at more than £100,000 a year. (Hear, hear.) To these must be added a portion of the cost of the four line fleet which is stationed in the vicinity of the military stations—namely, on the Mediterranean, the African, the Cape, and the Chinese stations. (Hear, hear.) These fleets consist at present of 93 ships, with a complement of 18,000 men, and must cost a million and a half a year for wages and victualls of crews, and wear and tear of vessels. (Hear, hear.) What I propose to the house is this, to withdraw our military protection from the United States, dispossess them of their men and fleet on the west coast of Africa, to reduce the number of our troops at the Cape and the Mauritius, and to bestow upon those colonies free institutions, (hear, hear), to transfer Ceylon to the East India Company, to transfer the military force amounts to about 9000 men. The military expenditure by Great Britain, for the year 1843-4, was £98,000. The civil expenditure by Great Britain for the same year was £34,000. This sum included an annual charge of about £12,000 for the North American clergy, and of about £15,000 a year for the Indian establishment. For purposes, I ask, were colonies originally planted by England? What benefit does this country derive from her dominion over her colonies? Our ancestors would have answered these questions in the following manner. They would have told us how little more than two centuries ago some of the inhabitants of that island being uneasy at home, had migrated to America, and, by their industry and energy, became the true Anglo-Saxon breed, which is best fitted to wage war with the savage and the forest; and being left alone, they flourished; and in the course of a few years, without costing one farthing to this country, they became a numerous and a thriving people. (Hear, hear.) Then the shopkeepers and other traders of England wished to secure their custom, and according to the notions of the day they petitioned Parliament that the colonies should be confined to the English shopkeepers, for buying all the goods they wanted in Europe; secondly, for selling all such parts of their colonial produce as the English traders might find it convenient to buy. Parliament acceded to this request. Thence the old system of colonial monopoly, which was the sole end and aim of the dominion which England assumed over her colonies. To protect this monopoly, which was derived from that monopoly, must likewise be abandoned. Now to monopoly free trade has succeeded, and the last relic of the colonial system, in the shape of the navigation laws, is about to perish (hear, hear). Our colonies are free to perish with whom they will, and in what manner they will. Therefore, they will only trade with us when they can do so more profitably than with other countries. Therefore, as far as trade can go, the colonies will become virtually independent states, except that they may not enact laws to restrain their inhabitants from buying from us, or selling to us, if it be for their interest so to do. Now it is evident that if the colonies were independent states, they never would be foolish to prevent their inhabitants from selling to us; but it may be said that they might be foolish to prevent us from buying from them. Now, to the extent to which our colonies do become virtually independent states, except that they may not enact laws to restrain their inhabitants from buying from us, or selling to us, if it be for their interest so to do. Now it is evident that if the colonies were independent states, they never would be foolish to prevent their inhabitants from selling to us; but it may be said that they might be foolish to prevent us from buying from them. Now, to the extent to which our colonies do become virtually independent states, except that they may not enact laws to restrain their inhabitants from buying from us, or selling to us, if it be for their interest so to do. Now it is evident that if the colonies were independent states, then it follows that all the benefit which, as far as trade is concerned, we derive from the sum which we expend on colonial dominion, consists in the power which we thereby possess of averting the possibility of a war with the United States. Again, more emigrants go directly from this country to the United States, than from all other colonies put together. In the last ten years, according to the returns of the Emigration Commissioners, 1,012,000 emigrants left this country, of which number 552,000 went directly to the United States. How many went indirectly through Canada I cannot undertake to say. Last year 251,000 persons emigrated from Great Britain to North America, 142,000 of whom were destined for the West Indies, the remaining 106,000 to the colonies. At present it is considered that colonies are chiefly useful as affording markets for our produce and outlets for our population. It is evident that in both these respects independent colonies are as useful as dependent ones, (hear, hear.) I do not propose to abandon the North American

colonies; but if we are compelled to choose between the alternative of the continuation of the present vast expenditure and that of abandoning these colonies, it is evident that the latter alternative would be the more profitable and economical point of view. But I maintain that if we give up our North American colonies as we ought to govern them, follow out rigorously the principle of responsible government, and leave them to manage their own affairs, uncontrolled by the Colonial Office, we may with safety diminish our military force and expenditure, and they will willingly continue to be our subjects (hear, hear). In the West Indies the military force amounts to about six thousand men. In the year 1843 and 1844, the military expenditure was £515,389, and the civil expenditure was £74,462. This civil expenditure consists of an annual charge of about £20,300 for ecclesiastical establishments, about £18,000 for the salaries of governors, and of about £35,000 for the salaries of stipendiary magistrates. The total amount of the direct expenditure on behalf of Great Britain on account of these colonies for 1843 and 1844 has been returned at £592,854 13s. 6d., or within a trifle of what it was in 1835 and 1836. In order to form a fair estimate of the whole cost of these colonies, we should add to this direct expenditure a portion of the expense of the fleet on the North American and West Indian stations, which fleet, as I have already stated, must cost the country at least £300,000 a year. The present annual expense of the packet service to and from the West Indies, which is contracted for at £240,000 a year, likewise something on account of the non-payment of loans, such as £50,000 this year on account of the hurricane in Togope; £166,000 which the Colonial Office somewhat usurping the ordinary functions of Parliament, promised without consulting Parliament to British Guiana and Trinidad in February last; and the £60,000 which the noble lord the master of the City of London has vainly hoped to appropriate to the West Indian stations. (Hear, hear.) How much of these loans will ever be repaid? (Hear, hear.) And we must likewise add the cost of landing captured negroes free of charge in the West Indies—I have already mentioned the cost of capturing them, I am afraid, therefore, that our West Indian colonies will in future cost this country directly, and more, £70,000 a year, which is just one-fourth of the total value of our exports to these colonies, on the average of five years ending 1844 (hear, hear). And that export trade is decreasing, and will decrease, for there can be no doubt that the value of West Indian property has decreased of late. Some of the West Indian proprietors say that we must either restore the value of their property by protecting their sugar, or they will leave our dominion. In fact, if we were to make any alteration of ten millions a year, on condition of their becoming independent states, we should be gainers thereby to the amount of at least £350,000 a year (hear, hear); though I utterly disbelieve that the West Indian colonies can ever be of the slightest value to this country, as colonies, for their climate is quite unsuited to our use; and they will, in all probability, become negro islands, like Haiti; these islands have been the most, really, the most worthless, and the worst managed of our colonies—a perpetual drain on the pockets of the people of England. Yet I do not propose to abandon them, except at the express wish of the colonists. I should merely propose to reduce our military force to half its present amount, and to effect a saving of about £300,000 a year (hear, hear). 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I should propose to reduce that force to 10,000 men, whose expense 4,000 would be sufficient for North America, 3,000 for the West Indies, and 3,000 for Australia, 3,000 and then, in my opinion, less than £1,000,000 a year would suffice to defray the expenses of those colonies to Great Britain. Therefore the whole reduction which I should propose at present to make in that portion of the colonial expenditure which is defrayed by Great Britain is £2,000,000 a year. I should effect that saving partly by a reduction of 23,000 men in the military force of the colonies, partly by a reduction of the naval and civil expenditure on account of the colonies; and partly by removing the causes which have led to the Canadian rebellions, Kafir and New Zealand wars, and the like. If this were accomplished, still, however, the colonies, would continue to cost the large sum of £2,000,000 a year; but I believe that a further reduction might easily be made on account of the mercantile colonies. Indeed it might cost us next to nothing if we gave them complete control over their own affairs, on condition that they should pay their own expenses (hear). The military stations, however, must always be a source of great expense and if we retain them we must be content to pay dearly for our whistle. Before I leave this subject, I will call the attention of the House to a Treasury Bill of the 10th January last, in which my Lord's complaint of the delay in rendering, and especially in auditing colonial accounts (hear). My lords instance those from Ceylon, the Mauritius, the Falkland Islands, Van Diemen's Land, and New South Wales, and the commissioners accounts from China, the Cape of Good Hope, Van Diemen's and New South Wales, to which I will add those from St. Lucia, South Australia, and Western Australia. My lords state that these accounts are so much in arrear that they cannot admit the sufficiency of the reasons assigned for that delay (hear, hear). The delay has certainly been very extraordinary. I find that there are at present in the Audit Office the undaudited accounts of ten years from the Mauritius (hear, hear), of eight years from the Cape of Good Hope (hear, hear), six years from Ceylon (hear, hear), and of four or five years from the other colonies to which I have referred (hear, hear, hear). It is evident that with such delay it is impossible to exercise an effectual check upon colonial expenditure. I shall now proceed to the consideration of that portion of the colonial expenditure of the British empire which is defrayed by the colonies. This sum has just been presented to the house of that expenditure for the last year in which it could be made up. In most instances it is for the year 1845; it is not materially different from the returns for previous years; I may, therefore, without any considerable inaccuracy, assume that it represents the ordinary annual expenditure of the colonies, and especially for the year 1845. From that return it appears that the total expenditure in all the colonies (excepting Ceylon) and the stations on the west coast of Africa, for reasons which I will presently state, and likewise the Ionian Islands, from which there was no return) was £3,850,000. In 1845 the population of these colonies was about 3,400,000; therefore the annual expenditure was at the rate of 1s. 8d. per head of the population. This sum, however, varies considerably in different colonies according to the form of local government. It is greater or less, according as the colonists have less or more control over their own expenses. This is a most important fact, to which I wish to call the special attention of the house (hear, hear). I have instituted a comparison between the rate of expenditure of those colonies which have, and those which have no representative government. From that comparison I have omitted Ceylon, because Ceylon is not a colony properly so called, but belongs to the class of our Indian possessions, and it is evident that a rate of expenditure which might be considered trifling for a population composed chiefly of Europeans might be excessive for a population of the Chinese and Indians. Ceylon, I have left unrepresented in the colonies on the west coast of Africa, for there is no account of their population on which any reliance can be placed; and the Ionian Islands have also been omitted, because, as I have already said, their expenditure has not been returned to Parliament in the return in question. With these omissions, I find that the rate of expenditure of the colonies with representative assemblies is less than one-half the rate of expenditure of the colonies without representative assemblies. The colonies with representative assemblies have a population of about two million five hundred and eighty thousand, and their expenditure in 1845 was £1,930,000, or at the rate of 1s. 1d. per head of their population. On the other hand, the population of the colonies, without representative assemblies, was about 220,000, and their expenditure in 1845 was £120,000, or at the rate of £1 1s. 4d. a head for the population, or 1s. 7d. a head more than in the colonies with representative assemblies. I am convinced that this great increase of the rate of expenditure in the Crown colonies is mainly to be attributed to the want of self-government (hear, hear), for it is most apparent when the rate of expenditure in each colony is examined and compared separately. For instance the rate of expenditure is the lowest in the North American colonies, where there is the greatest amount of self-government; in fact, since the last insurrection in Canada, and in the establishment of the doctrine of responsible government, Canada has become in most respects an independent state, except as far as it is in control, and except as far as it is then subjected to some mischievous and foolish interference on the part of the Colonial Office. Now, the expenditure of the North American colonies in 1845 was £1,730,000, their population was 1,700,000, therefore the rate of expenditure was 1s. 4d. per head of the population, or 1s. 7d. less than the average rate of the colonies with representative assemblies (hear, hear). But it should be remarked, that of the £1,730,000 expended in 1845 by the North American colonies, all but £1,000,000 was an extraordinary expenditure by Canada, on account of new works and buildings, a large portion of which was incurred by a loan. If a portion of this loan is repaid, as it ought to be, from the annual expenditure, then the rate of expenditure by

the North American colonies for the year 1845 would have been nearly the same as it was for the year 1844, which amounted to about £s. 6d. per head of the population (hear). Though this rate of expenditure is lower compared to our other colonies, yet it is about thirty per cent. higher than that of the United States for similar purposes. The difference mainly arises from the high scale of salaries paid to the higher functionaries in the North American colonies. Generally speaking, those functionaries receive from three to four times the salaries of the functionaries of similar functionaries in the United States. For instance, in the Canadas, with a population of 1,200,000 the governor is paid £7000 a year. In the United States the president has only £5000 a year. The governor of Nova Scotia is paid £3500 a year, the governor of New Brunswick and New Foundland are paid £3000 a year, much larger than that of the three colonies taken together, the salary of the governor is only £500 a year. In fact, the four North American colonies, which I have just mentioned, pay £2500 a year more for the salaries of their four governors than the thirty states of the union do for their thirty governors. Now, in the colonies the salaries are fixed by the various civil lists. These civil lists being established for the colonies from the first, the salaries of the representative assemblies, are perpetual causes of quarrelling and discontent (hear, hear), and there is always a dispute going on between the Colonial-office and some colony or other on this subject, which consequently leads to the most unpleasant results. (Hear, hear.) For instance, the dispute about the civil list of Canada was one of the causes which led to the rebellion in that colony (hear, hear). And at present the Colonial-office is involved in a civil list quarrel with British Guiana. In all these colonies the object of the office is to keep up the pay of its functionaries, and the object of the colonists is a reduction of expenditure. There can be no doubt that the salaries of the higher functionaries in the colonies are excessive, and that the colonies stand to the United States, which is the usual standard of comparison in the colonies. For the salaries of the governors of the thirty states of the Union amount in all to but £14,000 a year. Therefore the average is £160 a year for the salary of each governor. Now, there are eighteen British colonies which pay for their own governors—their salaries amount in all £4000 a year, or the salary of one of these governors, or nearly nine times the rate of pay in the United States. In fact, nine out of the eighteen governors in question receive as much as, or more than, the President of the United States (hear, hear). For instance, the governors of Canada, the Mauritius, and Ceylon, receive £7000 a year. The governors of Jamaica have £5000 a year, and the governors of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales, have £5,000 a year each. I do not think that the rate of pay is too high for noble lords and other gentlemen of rank and connection, when they undertake the duties of governors of the colonies. If we are determined to employ such persons in the colonies, we ought to pay for them ourselves (hear, hear). On the other hand, if we insist upon the colonies paying their governors, it appears to me that, with the exception of the military stations, we should permit the colonies to elect their own governors and other functionaries, and pay them what salaries they think fit. Such was often the case in the constitution of our colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. And the colonies, and distinctly attached to the office of Government, would induce the best men in the colonies to serve for moderate salaries. If, however, the colonies were to choose, in any particular case, an unfit man to be a governor, they would be the sufferers: they would have no one but themselves to blame; but, as we will presently show, it would be a worse choice than the Colonial Office governors (hear, hear). To return to the question of the comparative rates of compensation in those colonies which have and those colonies which have no representative governments. In the West Indies the colonies with representative assemblies are Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, the Windward Islands, with the exception of St. Lucia and Barbados. Their population is about 700,000, their expenditure is £4,000,000, or at the rate of 1s. 10d. per head of their population; the rate of immigration is £1 9s. a head, or more than twice as much as that of the West Indian colonies which have representative governments. The salaries of the higher functionaries in the West Indian colonies are all excessive, as compared with the standard of the United States. Twenty governors and lieutenant-governors receive £20,000 a year, £16,000 of which are paid by the colonists to five governors. (Hear, hear.) As I have already observed, the Colonial-office is involved in a civil list dispute with British Guiana. In consequence of the distressed condition of that colony, at the close of last year the elective members of the Court of Policy proposed a reduction of twenty-five per cent. upon all salaries above £700 a year. The Colonial-office acceded to this proposal; and the government caused the estimates for they year in the Court of Policy by the exercise of his double vote. The combined court then refused to vote the supplies for the period required by the governor. The Colonial-office has retaliated upon them for this conduct by stopping immigration to British

Guiana, and by refusing the usual license to carry liberated negroes from Sierra Leone to that colony. This unexpected proceeding has occasioned considerable inconvenience and loss to the people in this colony, who complain that no reliance can be placed upon the Colonial-office with its perpetually shifting regulations. (Hear, hear.) The Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius have each of them about the same population—namely, 160,000—and being Crown colonies, their rate of expenditure is about the same as that of the Crown colonies of the West Indies, namely, £1,000 a year. And in both they are grievously taxed, especially the Mauritius. As I have already said, the Governor of the Mauritius has £7000 a year, and the Governor of the Cape has as much as the President of the United States. It may be said that the rate of expenditure is higher in the Crown colonies, because, generally speaking, those colonies are more thinly peopled than the other colonies, and less densely populated. It is perfectly true, that, excepting Ceylon, the rate of expenditure in a thinly peopled territory will generally exceed that of a thickly peopled one. But the Crown colony of the Mauritius is four times as densely peopled as Jamaica, yet the rate of expenditure in Jamaica is less than that in the Mauritius. (Hear, hear.) As I have said, the Crown colony of Malta is one of the most densely peopled colonies in the world, and the population on the face of the earth, yet the rate of expenditure is 1s. 6d. a head of the population, or twenty per cent. more than that of the plantations in the West Indies; or nearly double the ordinary rate of expenditure in the thinly peopled North American colonies. Again, Malta is more than twice as thickly peopled as the United States, but these states have a certain amount of land, and the average rate of expenditure in 1840 (the last return which I have been able to get at) was 1s. 3d. a head or 2s. 3d. a head less than that of Malta. Ceylon is the only apparent exception to the rule, that the rate of expenditure of colonies governed by the Colonial-office is greater than that of the self-governed colonies. According to the statement of Mr. Tennant the population of Ceylon in 1840 amounted to £500,500, and the expenditure in that year was £498,000, or at the rate of 6s. 7d. a head less than that of the United States, but these states have a certain amount of land, and the average rate of expenditure in 1840 (the last return which I have been able to get at) was 1s. 3d. a head or 2s. 3d. a head less than that of Ceylon. There is this apparent exception to the rule, that the rate of expenditure of colonies governed by the Colonial-office is greater than that of the self-governed colonies. According to the statement of Mr. Tennant the population of Ceylon in 1840 amounted to £500,500, and the expenditure in that year was £498,000, or at the rate of 6s. 7d. a head less than that of the United States. It is true this rate of expenditure is lower than that of any other colony, yet I believe it will be found to be extravagant when the nature of the population is considered. For it ought to be compared with the rate of expenditure of the colonies which have no representative assemblies, and the colonies which have no self-government. For instance, the rate of expenditure of the colonies which have no self-government is £1,000 a head, and the colonies which have no representative assemblies pay £250 a head. And at present the colonies object of the office is to keep up the pay of its functionaries, and the object of the colonists is a reduction of expenditure. There can be no doubt that the salaries of the higher functionaries in the colonies are excessive, and that the colonies stand to the United States, which is the usual standard of comparison in the colonies. For the salaries of the governors of the thirty states of the Union amount in all to but £14,000 a year. Therefore the average is £160 a year for the salary of each governor. Now, there are eighteen British colonies which pay for their own governors—their salaries amount in all £4000 a year, or the salary of one of these governors, or nearly nine times the rate of pay in the United States. In fact, nine out of the eighteen governors in question receive as much as, or more than, the President of the United States (hear, hear). For instance, the governors of Canada, the Mauritius, and Ceylon, receive £7000 a year. The governors of Jamaica have £5000 a year, and the governors of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales, have £5,000 a year each. I do not think that the rate of pay is too high for noble lords and other gentlemen of rank and connection, when they undertake the duties of governors of the colonies. If we are determined to employ such persons in the colonies, we ought to pay for them ourselves (hear, hear). 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In consequence of the distressed condition of that colony, at the close of last year the elective members of the Court of Policy proposed a reduction of twenty-five per cent. upon all salaries above £700 a year. The Colonial-office acceded to this proposal; and the government caused the estimates for they year in the Court of Policy by the exercise of his double vote. The combined court then refused to vote the supplies for the period required by the governor. The Colonial-office has retaliated upon them for this conduct by stopping immigration to British

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I think I have sufficiently established my position that, in every portion of the globe, the British colonies are more economically and better governed in proportion as they are self-governed. In North America the various States of the Union govern themselves twenty-five years longer than the Colonies, which are to a certain extent under the control of the Colonial office. (Hear.) In the West Indies the Crown colonies, which are governed by the Colonial-office, are twice as heavily taxed in the plantations; and in Australia, and in the Mediterranean, the same rule holds good. (Hear, hear.) These facts justify the conclusion at which I now arrive, that the greater the self-government is, the better governed are the colonies. The less the Colonial-office is involved in the internal affairs of the colonies, the more economically and the better the colonies will be governed. (Hear.) In the course of the last ten years petitions complaining of Colonial-office government, and praying for representative government, have been presented from the Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Australia, South Africa, Mauritius, New Zealand, British Guiana, Trinidad, St. Lucia, and Malta. I presented one to-night myself. The prayer of only one of these petitions has been acceded to. New South Wales has obtained a mongrel form of representative government, which must soon be amended, though not in the fashion proposed by the Colonial office. (Hear, hear.) All the other petitions have been rejected. Not only is not each of these colonies to be governed in the same amount of benefit from free institutions, but I am prepared to maintain that with representative government every one of them, not excepting the Mauritius, would have been more economically and better governed than they have been or are governed by the Colonial office. (Hear.) In saying this I do not mean to speak with disrespect of the present Secretaries of State for the Colonies; there is no essential difference between them, (hear, hear) —the system is throughout the same, whoever may be the nominal chief (hear, hear). Of that system, however, I do intend to speak with disrespect (hear), and I can quote in justification of my so doing some high authorities on this side of the house, who have carefully studied the subject. I mean my honorable friend the late Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Canning, the Honourable gentleman the member for Sheffield, and the noble earl at the head of the Colonial Office, before he became Secretary of State for the colonies: for, generally speaking, they are chosen, not on account of any special aptitude for, or knowledge of, the business which they will have to perform, but for reasons foreign to the interests of the colonies. For instance, our relations or needy dependents of the having political influence in the colonies in the army or navy, who have been unsuccessful in their professions (hear, hear), briefless barristers, electioneering agents, impudent applicants for public employment, whose employment in this country public opinion would forbid (hear), and at times even discreditable partisans, whom it is expedient to get rid of in the colonies (hear); these are the materials out of which the Colonial Office has been formed, and the Colonies are the outlets for their functions. Therefore, in most cases they are signally unfit for the duties which they have to perform, and being wholly ignorant of the affairs of the colony to which they are appointed, become the tools of one or other of the colonial factions; whence perpetual jealousies and never-ending feuds (hear, hear). The governors, the judges, and the other high functionaries are generally on hostile terms. This is the reason that the judges, who are the chief authority in the colonies, have no power to decide in their own cases, and often, to some of them, a whole year must elapse before an answer to a letter can be received, before a petition can be complied with, or a grievance redressed (hear, hear). Therefore, orders which are issued from the Colonial Office in accordance with the last advices from a colony are, in innumerable instances, wholly unsuited to the state of the colony when the orders are issued; in some cases, the orders which have received no record, long remain unexecuted, and the tardy interference of the Colonial Office is felt to be a curse even when a wrong is redressed. In other cases, the instructions of the Colonial Office are wisely disregarded by the governors, or rejected with derision by the colonial assemblies, who marvel at the gross ignorance of these transatlantic rulers (hear, hear). In addition to its other arduous functions, the Colonial Office is required to assist in the vain attempt to suppress the slave-trade of Africa; and it has likewise the difficult task of administering a secondary punishment in a penal colony at the antipodes (hear, hear). Now if it were possible for any mortal man to discharge the duties of such an office, it is evident that he ought to possess, not merely great mental powers, but a long and intimate acquaintance with the affairs of the different colonies; he should be brought up in the colonies, and should have a study of his life, and he should be appointed on account of special aptitude to conduct such business. Is that the rule for selecting Secretaries of State for the colonies? (Hear, hear.) Nothing of the kind. (Hear, hear.) They are generally chosen, haphazard from the chiefs of the two great political parties in this or the other House of Parliament; and chosen, not for their knowledge, but for their service, and for their courage, some eighteen months or so. During that time there have been no less than six Colonial Secretaries—namely, Lord Glenelg, Lord Normanby, Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Grey; all of them, I acknowledge, are men of great ability: all of them, I believe, most anxious to use their abilities for the benefit of their country and of the colonies; but they were led, persuaded that, one-third of them had little or no knowledge of colonial affairs prior to their acceptance of office; just, therefore, as they were probably beginning to learn the wants and interests of the more important colonies, and to acquire the first rudiments of colonial lore, they were succeeded by some other statesman, who had to commence his lessons as Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to try his hand in the despotic and irresponsible government of some score or more of dependent states. (Hear, hear.) In fact the colonial government of this country is an ever-changing, frequently well-intentioned, but invariably weak and ignorant despotism. Its policy varies incessantly, swayed about by opposite influences; at one time directed, perhaps, by the West Indiaibus, the next, perhaps, by the Anti-Slavery Society, then, perhaps, by the New Zealand Company, or by a Missionary Society; it is everything by turns, and nothing long. Saint, Protectionist, Free-trader, in rapid succession; one day it originates a project, the next day it abandons it, therefore all its schemes are abortive, and all its measures are unwar-

cessful (hear, hear.) Witness the economical condition of the West Indies, the frontier relations of the Cape of Good Hope, the immoral state of Van Diemen's Land (hear, hear), and the pseudo-system of colonization which we have adopted in New Zealand (hear, hear). Such a Government might suit serfs and other barbarians; but to men of our race—in intelligent and energetic Englishmen accustomed to freedom and to local self-government, it is one of the most hateful and odious Governments that can well be imagined. It is difficult to express the deep-seated hatred and contempt which is felt for the Colonial Office by every dependency subject to it, to say (Hear, hear) —that is to say, that the fact, the question to the West Indies and the Mauritius; put the same question to Van Diemen's Land, to New South Wales, to New Zealand, and your other Australian colonies; from all of them you will receive the same answer, and the same prayer to be freed from the control of the Colonial Office. (Hear, hear.) Even the Canadians are not content, but they are not yet independent; though, in most respects, they are virtually independent of the Colonial Office; yet every now and then the Colonial Office contrives to produce irritation by stupid interference (hear, hear) in some questions of minor importance, such as the regulations of a banking bill, or the amount of a petty salary. (Hear, hear.) Though the colonies have ample reason to complain of the manner in which they are governed, they still have greater reason to complain of the governors and other functionaries who are sent by the Colonial Office to the colonies: for, generally speaking, they are chosen, not on account of any special aptitude for, or knowledge of, the business which they will have to perform, but for reasons foreign to the interests of the colonies. 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